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226 although not everyone owned one. Quain also described Trumaí fish nets, but netting must have been a minor technique, as he did not see it practiced during his stay.

[170] Throughout the upper Xingú area it was common practice to construct fish dams across the mouths of lagoons. There were two such fish weirs in the Trumaí lagoon, one near its mouth, the other across a small inlet near the village. Their purpose was to block the fish from escape to the main stream when drugs were placed in the water. They were built by driving upright stakes into the floor of the lagoon, after which a wall of rubbish and branches was built against the fence. One dam was constructed by the village cooperatively, while the other was said to have been built by a single man.

226 The Trumaí lagoon was considered the property of the community,
423 and the Trumaí maintained exclusive fishing rights in it. The water in the lagoon is clear in comparison to the muddy Kuluene, and the fishing excellent. A good proportion of the fishing was done there, especially when traps and poisons were used, but they also had fishing rights in other lagoons within the territory of abandoned Trumaí villages. In addition, they fished in the Kuluene and Kuliseu and ranged as far afield as the Batoví River.

[576] While most fishing trips were carried out within a day, some lasted
[201] two or three days. When the fishermen returned, they were greeted with a conventional shout by all the villagers. The shout was meant to welcome the food rather than the fishermen, and similar cries were heard when well laden gathering parties returned from a short jaunt into the forest.

501 About one-half of the men owned canoes, and according to Quain's
422 informants, only six did not know how to build them. The bark canoes
226 of the upper Xingú are not difficult to make, and it can be assumed that the community did not need more, inasmuch as fishing parties always consisted of two men. Larger groups went out of the village in a body when many fish were needed for a ceremony or to feed guests, but they usually split into pairs. Cooperative fishing groups of more than two men were needed only for drugging and perhaps for netting. On one *kuusi* fishing expedition over half the males of the village went to the lagoon with bundles of shredded bark. Quain noted that this was one of the few examples of group labor transcending the immediate family.

226 Two-man fishing expeditions were composed of the owner or borrower
571 of the canoe and his helper (*tsu*). The *tsu* generally paddled while the owner fished. Only while serving as a helper was he referred to as the *tsu* of that man. Thus, if a person went as the helper of Makurawa, he was referred to as "Makurawatsu." He shared in the catch, but whether he received less than the canoe owner is not indicated by the field notes. There seemed to be no fixed standard for the selection of the *tsu*, nor

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were the teams always the same. Old Matiwana and his son Yati fished together most of the time, as did Aloari and his true brother Tun. Other true brothers often fished together, but, with the exception of the two above-mentioned steadfast teams, men chose their fishing companions according to their mutual needs or plans for the day. Since such agreements occurred most often between members of the same household, co-residents often cooperated. One man, Jakuma, spent much of his time fishing as the *tau* of different canoe owners or borrowers. He had no wife, and his garden, which he did not till very diligently, was very small. His fishing partners included men from every household, who were related to him in various degrees.

Although the position of *tau* was a temporarily subordinate one, it caused no loss of status. Even the Trumaí chief, since he owned no canoe, went fishing as a *tau*. Occasionally men took their wives along, but fishing was a man's specialty, and the woman's function was restricted to paddling.

Gathering

The two most important food products that the Trumaí gathered were turtle eggs and the fruit of the *piquí* tree, or *tsinon*. Throughout the dry season, turtle eggs were gathered in great quantity on the banks and sandbars of the rivers. By September they were no longer available and, in the following month, *piquí* became the main objective of the gathering parties. The harvest of this fruit was stored and lasted nearly to the end of the rainy season. *Piquí* was an important staple, especially in the period before crops ripened. Most of the *piquí* trees grow wild, but there is a suggestion in Quain's notes that they might also have been transplanted when young. All of the *piquí* trees were individually owned, and proprietary rights of individuals to groups of trees were clearly understood by all. In order to make the fruit ripen fast, the owner of the trees built a slow-burning fire of grass underneath them at night. The early rainy season was a rather lean period, so that there was great joy when the *piquí* was heard falling in the forest. Everyone broke into shouts of "*kaha kaha kaha-a-a*," which was the conventional cry for greeting the first *piquí*. These shouts were slightly different from those welcoming fish brought into the village.

The first fruit was usually gathered by the owner of the trees and his family. However, when the fruit began to fall in great quantity there was a general harvest which was shared without regard for tree ownership.

Piquí gathering started in the middle of October, when the planting season had ended and the men were free to help in the gathering. However, men still fished frequently, and the burden of the gathering fell on the women and older boys. Women from the same household

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592 578 friendly terms tended to join in forming a household, and third, it was probably considered desirable to suppress ill feeling within the house.

571 578 592 The unfriendliness between Maibu and the men of Aloari's family existed side by side with close gift-giving obligations between their two houses. According to Aloari's brother Oirupa, he *pans* (gives) to all the people of his own house and also to all the people of Maibu's house. Residence was the crucial factor, for when Yanahi and Mayuva moved from his house, Oirupa no longer gave to them. Similarly, the two other houses had close gift-giving ties. The women united according to this house division when an attack was thought imminent.

114 592 602 Insofar as can be ascertained from Quain's genealogical data, there were no special kin bonds between the households of Maibu and Aloari, on one hand, and Jakwanari and Nitvary, on the other, to explain this moiety-like division. But it is of interest that the houses of both Maibu and Aloari were the large type of domicile, like those of the Kamayurá, whereas the other pair of houses were the smaller "true" Trumaí type. It is possible that the residents of one pair of houses, perhaps the smaller, were the descendants of inhabitants of the southern village.

The Nuclear Family

594 Despite the importance of the household and the bilateral consanguineal group, the nuclear family, consisting of man, wife, and children, was still the basic unit of Trumaí society and economy. The biological family could provide nearly all the necessities of life within the previously outlined framework of individualized production and division of labor between the sexes.

The responsibilities of child-rearing fell largely on the nuclear family. The Trumaí showed a fondness for children, and it was not unusual for other adults in the house to play with them and watch over them; but the chief attention came from the parents, and the dependence of the young upon the father and mother was stronger than upon the rest of the household.

[513] 593 The conjugal group had its own hearth near which its hammocks were strung. Very young children slept with the mother or, if motherless, with the father. Couples were companionable and spent much of their leisure time with each other. It was common for a man and wife to sit in the shade of their house in the afternoon while he made arrows and she worked on a hammock. At other times the couple would go on a short [832] gathering trip, or just idle around the house. Embraces or mild sex play often occurred in public between younger mates.

593 156 Some unions were closer than others. Aloari and his wife Yumunuwa spent more time together and showed more affection than did other couples. They were both young; he was virile and aggressive, and she

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Divorce and Adultery

The polygynous unions were extremely brittle. In two cases observed by Quain, they lasted only a few days. In both instances the first wife was responsible for the break-up. The bonds of the second marriage of a plural mating were loose, for Jakwanari's second wife had sexual relations with several Trumaí men with apparent impunity. Such behavior would have been dealt with severely by a husband had his first wife been involved. Divorces also occurred in monogamous marriages; they entailed little more than telling the wife to leave. After the birth of their son, Oirupa sent his Mehinaku wife back to her village and kept the child. The right of the father's village over the children seems to have been general in the area, for Autu had a son by a Waurá husband, whom the Waurá refused to give to the Trumaí.

There is no recorded instance of adultery precipitating a divorce, although this probably occurred. However, the usual procedure was for the injured husband to beat his wife and make a lengthy and heated speech against the offending suitor. The wife of an adulterous husband showed anger toward his paramour and did not speak to her. Hair pulling resulted in some cases. The husband's behavior was viewed as reprehensible by the wife, but she took no action against him. One wife even chuckled a bit over her husband's adventures, although jealousy is the more usual response.

Due to the threat of punishment, the married women engaged far less in extra-marital relations than did their husbands. Both married and unmarried men sought out unattached women, but instances of married men in such liaisons were less numerous. The younger married men and Maibu, the chief, seemed to have been the chief offenders. The latter complained to Quain that all the women in the village were prohibited to him, as they were his wife's cross-cousins. Neither his genealogy nor his activities bore him out, and he often approached the single women and Jakwanari's second wife when the other men were out of the village. Everyone conceded that, although Maibu's wife had not reached menopause, she was "too old." Thus they rationalized his escapades.

The instability of the nuclear family and the vicissitudes to which it was exposed were alleviated by household and kin distribution and by the interdependence of co-resident relatives of the opposite sex for sexually specialized goods and services. These arrangements made possible the economic workability of Trumaí culture. The conjugal family was basic to the culture, however, and marriage was highly desirable to the Trumaí. Despite the shortage of available women and the conflicts which stemmed from it, sex relations between unmarried persons were free and easy and subject to little or no public censure, except insofar as they encroached on the interests of others. Incest

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796 He then started a song about the post in which he was joined by Nitvary
243 and the women. After two repetitions, the women poured a bowl of the
522 soup on Matiwana's head and shoulders, making a dripping mess of him. He retired amid general laughter. The second bowl of soup was then poured over the pole. A full explanation of the beliefs surrounding the *ole* posts was not obtained.

796 Due to the fact that Quain had only recently arrived in the village
243 when the ceremony was held, there is also a lack of clarity in the system
608 of relationships known as *ole aton*. The word "*aton*" means "pet" in Trumaí, but in the present context it applies to a temporary ceremonial identification between people, and between people and the *ole* posts. The
[571] interpersonal ties set up were only between persons of opposite sex. However, a man could have more than one woman for *aton*, and vice versa.

Kinship may be the determinant of these ties, but the data are inconclusive. Interestingly, the greatest number of *ole aton* relationships existed between people of the previously mentioned pairs of houses, suggesting a ceremonial reinforcement of this moiety-like arrangement.

Except for reciprocal gift-giving obligations, nothing is known of the behavioral roles called for by these connections. The owners of the *ole* posts were said to have their particular posts for *atons*. Their chief
[782] ceremonial duties were to peel and paint the pole, and supply it with
[778] food offerings. It may be hypothesized that the posts represent certain spirits with which individuals are identified, perhaps as the result of shamanistic experiences, as described by Oberg for the Kamayurá.[6]

796 During the *ole* ceremony, as during the cure described above, Quain
829 was impressed by the lack of interest in the proceedings. Those who
181 were not part of the immediate activity sat and smoked, indulging in the usual topics of conversation. The loose patterning and secularity which characterized the ritual bespoke the general lassitude that permeated all aspects of the culture.

The Piquí Ceremony

796 The *piquí (tsinon)* ceremony occurred at the end of the harvest of that fruit, during the first half of the rainy season. It was similar to the *ole* celebration, but not as lengthy nor as important. Quain's information on the festival, obtained from Aloari, is very limited. Jakwanari, the main functionary, occupied a position similar to that of Matiwana and Nitvary in the *ole* ceremony. As Aloari phrased it, "Jakwanari had *tsinon* as *aton*." There was house-to-house dancing by the women, accompanied
[262] by singing of a certain series of songs. At the end of the dancing Jakwanari's wife made a large quantity of *t'ak*, the *piquí* flour cake, which

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 60.

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would be terminated by mutual consent and without the need for either contestant to concede defeat.[6] The wrestlers were often pushed around considerably, but except for grunts of effort, there were no expressions of pain or anger. However, when Quain tried to teach the Trumaí men to box, even the lightest punch caused them to retire. They claimed that the *karahiba* sport was much too rough.

Trumaí women do not "know how" to wrestle, but the Kamayurá women wrestled to entertain guests. It was common opinion in the region that Trumaí women did not compare favorably with Kamayurá women. Even the Trumaí men agreed on this point. After a visit to the Kamayurá village, the precocious young Yanahi was vociferous in his approval of them. His admiration was due chiefly to the *jamyrikuma*, a Kamayurá female song and dance in which the women flapped their breasts and went through other provocative motions. He also described how they had pushed their twine belts down low on their buttocks, which to him was a very suggestive act. After the dance the women wrestled. Jakwalu, a Mehinaku, was the only woman in the Trumaí village who could wrestle, a fact that suggests that the females of this group also practiced the sport. She demonstrated her ability only on intertribal visits.

The Trumaí women did not entertain guests, except insofar as visitors forced their attentions on the unmarried ones. The only occasions on which they were known to sing and dance were at certain ceremonies when they served as a chorus to the men.

Except for the use of pan-pipes, which the men played in the morning, all music was connected with religious ceremonial. The pan-pipes consisted of a half-dozen hollow reeds of different lengths laced together. Ceremonial singing was melodious, and the Trumaí enjoyed singing. They frequently requested Quain to sing in the men's circle. The requests were always phrased on behalf of the women and children. Visits from members of other tribes always called for a performance by the ethnographer.

Humor consisted mostly of practical jokes played at the expense of others. Jokes were always perpetrated by the men; the women served occasionally as butts. This does not mean that the men were gayer or more light-hearted than the women, for the contrary was actually the case. The women enjoyed each other's company more. They gossiped and laughed together, worked together, and generally wore a pleasanter expression. For the men, jokes were important as a means of recognition and assertion. They were always performed for an audience.

Teasing the women was also a popular male diversion. This was often done by ignoring them completely during a conversation. Yati was a

[6] This may be true only of bouts between Trumaí, as Oberg (1953, p. 89) notes that a man is defeated when he is thrown on his back.

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master at this dead-pan type of humor. When the women attempted to talk to him and Quain, he remained entirely disinterested, occasionally breaking in on them to address himself solely to the ethnographer. Although the women affected exasperation, they really enjoyed this negative attention.

The women were easy to frighten. Aloari teased his wife and sister-in-law by chasing them with a live snake in his hands. The women were also sensitive to touch (few men could resist brushing a hand lightly over an ever-exposed buttock when a crowd was present), and they became nervous when they saw that such teasing was impending. On a day when all the women had crowded into Quain's house, he pulled on the perineal cord of one of them. She immediately loosed a scream and ran out the door followed by the others, who laughed hilariously. Thereafter all the women expected to be teased by Quain, and they identified him somewhat more with the other men than they had before. The men often threatened rape in jest, but even when the women recognized the humorous intent, their basic anxiety was never completely allayed.

Pranks were frequent among the men. It was particularly amusing for a man to inform the others that Quain had given him a gift. Yati went to the trouble of filling a cartridge box with dirt and soberly telling all the men that the box was full of rifle shells. He was among the more popular jokers of the village. And pranks were played on him also. One night, in jest, Aloari shot at Yati's chicken with Quain's rifle on the pretext that it had been crowing. (The noise of the rifle report was also calculated to terrify the village.) Tun and Jakwanari occasionally tried to be funny by sitting alone and talking to themselves rapidly and incoherently. This was considered forced humor, and no one so much as chuckled.

A major source of diversion was gossip about who was cohabiting with whom. While this sometimes led to shouting arguments, it was more often merely playful talk, and it was treated as such. Accusations of sexual intercourse, sometimes true and sometimes false, were tossed back and forth between the men, usually with accompanying leers.

Manners and Morals

The Trumai gossiped about sex, not because it was held to be morally wrong to do so, but because they had a frank and honest interest in it. Sex was considered a part of the "good life," but it was also thought to be a distraction from work. Thus, the chief made lengthy speeches castigating the men for being interested in nothing but sex when they should have been out planting. Similarly, Yanahi should have finished his puberty rites, but, as one of his kinsmen bluntly put it, all he wanted to do was "*tsidi*" (copulate). In reality the men took vicarious enjoyment in watching Yanahi exert his newly found sex prowess.

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123 aries, they are unrestrained in physical contact and in the expression of their momentary sentiments. In many instances their motives are kind and helpful. But their complete lack of shyness makes their sometimes bungling efforts troublesome.

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152 They were more reserved among themselves. Body contact and caresses were absent, as such demonstrations of friendship were unnecessary. The Trumaí were different people when outsiders were in the village.

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a certain point at least, the take increases geometrically with the number of persons participating.

In gardening, also, which was not practiced collectively, their small number decreased Trumaí security. It was common for nearly all the village men to plant their gardens in clearings adjacent to those of their neighbors. Obviously, if one part of such a single, extended clearing was improperly fired, or if the crops were destroyed by armadillos or wild pigs, the whole village might be without food. Crop failure for a variety of causes is common in the tropical forests, but most aboriginal communities in South America have several separated garden clearings, each owned by an individual or extended family. If one garden fails, the family can, in a period of emergency, reap from others. Oberg relates that the Trumaí once had to turn for food to the Kamayura,[4] perhaps because of the failure of the village clearing.

It is, of course, possible that in the past the Trumaí organized their gardens along the more rational lines of the Kamayurá;[5] and it is also possible that they never made a proper ecological adaptation subsequent to their arrival in the upper Xingú region. But lacking information on their economy prior to their decimation, we cannot make any firm statement on these points. However, it is certain that, despite their small numbers, the individual Trumaí could have cleared and planted much more land. The average size of the gardens observed by Quain was one-half acre, and this area had to feed up to four people. Many men also had old gardens which were planted only to manioc. According to Quain's calculations, the total acreage of Trumaí gardens was only a little over thirteen. Since yields from forest soils are not high, it is evident that this very small area must have barely met the needs of a population of 43 persons. Manifestly, the Trumaí did not work hard enough; and it seems evident that their lack of application did more to impoverish them than any other single factor.

If the other upper Xingú tribes are used as criteria to establish what Trumaí society was like before its decline, some very serious dysfunctions within Trumaí social structure soon become apparent. To be sure, such a comparison is an arbitrary procedure; and it is only invoked here for its heuristic value. Since village and house patrilocality is the usual mode of residence among the Trumaí, a household similar to that of the Kamayurá, and with like functions, might be expected and might indeed have existed in the past. However, the Trumaí death rate in 1938 was so high that these units disintegrated before they had gone beyond the embryonic stage. House membership was shifting, the number of persons involved small, and leadership nebulous. And since kinship was the principal mechanism for structuring interpersonal relationships in Trumaí society, this lack of a stable, kin-structured unit probably did

[4] Oberg 1953, p. 42. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 45.

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serious damage to the individual personality. Also, many individuals could not enact whole sets of kin-determined roles because they had no relatives of the proper complementary status. For example, parents-in-law normally exerted considerable influence and control over younger married couples, but hardly anyone in the village had such relatives. Similarly, cross-cousin marriage was the preferred union, but cross-cousins were generally unavailable. Moreover, because of the shortage of women, marriage came to be more a cause of conflict than a consolidator of kinship bonds.

Not only was the family world of the Trumaí crumbling, but all lines of authority and social control were weak. The Trumaí seemed unable to unite for such culturally approved purposes as economic cooperation or hospitality. Trumaí leadership, like that of many primitive peoples, was predicated on the existence of strong bonds of kinship, economic interdependence, and a general agreement on goals and policies. These preconditions were no longer found among the Trumaí. In this structural vacuum, the Trumaí chief was less and less able to cope with the growing self-assertiveness of certain men, and was increasingly forced into a neutral role. As the community weakened, his position weakened.

A number of reasons account for the factionalism which developed within the Trumaí village. Some are a function of personality, others of the diminished population. Obviously women were at a premium and many men were compelled to do without mates. The resultant competition was, as we have seen, a festering sore in the body politic. Connected with it, but having further ramifications, the bonds of kinship and the expected behavior between kinsmen underwent attrition and upset what social balance could have been achieved under more normal conditions. Indeed fear of the outside world more than internal forces of cohesion held the Trumaí community together.

Other integrative mechanisms in Trumaí culture were also disappearing. Conspicuous among them was the gradual abandonment of many elements in the Trumaí ceremonial cycle. (Significantly this left the highly individual practice of shamanism as the most active religious expression in Trumaí culture). In part, this loss may have been due to the inability of the Trumaí to amass a sufficiently large food surplus for the feasting that was required when visitors from other tribes were present. Not enough is known about the ritual of the Trumaí to warrant any broad generalizations on the effects of depopulation on ceremonial participation, but their numbers may well have been approaching the minimum necessary to carry out the rites. Only a few men who had depended heavily on one old man for their instruction possessed the requisite ceremonial knowledge. When this old man died, Trumaí culture must have suffered a severe blow. Younger men were little interested in learning the ritual and lore. Moreover, the small number of bearers of